

CLASSIFICATION **CONFIDENTIAL**
 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
 INFORMATION FROM
 FOREIGN DOCUMENTS OR RADIO BROADCASTS

REPORT

50X1-HUM

CD NO.

COUNTRY China

DATE OF
INFORMATION 1949

SUBJECT Political

HOW
PUBLISHED Twice-monthly pamphlet

DATE DIST. / Aug 1950

WHERE
PUBLISHED Not given

NO. OF PAGES 7

DATE
PUBLISHED 16 Jan 1950

LANGUAGE Chinese

SUPPLEMENT TO
REPORT NO.

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SOURCE

Cheng-chih Ch'ing-pao (Political Intelligence), No 9, Cheng-Chih
 Ch'ing-pao She, (Chinese classification: Secret).

DIRECTIVE FOR RECTIFYING AND REORGANIZING
THE SOUTH CHINA BUREAU OF THE CCP

At a meeting of the South China Bureau of the CCP held in Hong Kong and
 attended by Ho Lien-hua (何聯華), Fang Fang (方方), Ch'iao Mu
 (喬木), Mo Fu (莫夫), Lien Kuei (連貴), Lung Lin (龍林),
 and Tseng Sheng (曾生), the Directive for Rectifying and Reorganizing
 the Party was passed. Its important features are given below.

Basis Aspects and Responsibilities

1. Present Basic Aspects

The reactionary ruling bloc has decided on -- as its rear area and
 place of final stand; consequently, it is making an all-out effort to defeat
 the revolution and practice extortion on the people in order to prolong its
 precarious life.

Because of the precarious position of the reactionary ruling bloc,
 it has no alternative but to turn over the fatherland as a present to the US
 imperialists. With imperialist support it will try to develop resources and
 control all industries and commerce, making use of reactionary weapons. This
 will impose a double oppression on the people, which will ultimately result
 in arousing greater hatred for the reactionaries among the people.

The successive victories of the revolutionary arms in the Northeast,
 North China, and the Central Plains area has aroused the people of South
 China and greatly enlarged the scope of the revolutionary troops and armed
 partisans under the divided vicious rule of the KMT.

In Hong Kong, the political attitudes of all classes are of great
 value. The Party is able to take advantage of these attitudes in order to
 carry out its unifying policies and strengthen its control in an active and
 positive manner.

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2. Our Present and Future Responsibility

a. Secure a triple resistance by exciting the peasants to resistance against their rulers, quickly organize armed partisans, and expand guerrilla warfare.

b. Concentrate and unite all armed partisans on one fighting line, establish bases in the mountains, gradually build up bases for the armies from the north, and complete preparations.

c. Except in liberated areas, where the land-reform policies of the Central government are in full force, first steps in land reform in guerrilla and border areas such as Hainan should be taken by borrowing grain for famine relief, borrowing rent and reducing rent, etc.

d. To ensure the proper political administration by the Party and maintain the revolutionary character of the Party in the period of victory throughout the country we must use our energy to reorganize the armed forces, rectify the Party organization, and construct a solid and powerful Party.

Work of Rectifying the Party

1. Past Divergencies and Shortcomings

Because of the difficulties of keeping sight of our main objectives in our present environment, the organization of the Party has often presented a partisan, disjointed aspect. Because members have been so constantly engrossed in the life of conflict they have been unable to give steady attention to organization and education, to the detriment of party stability and continuous development.

Since land reform has not been carried out in this area, the peasants have not been generally won over to our cause; hence the Party's expansion has been extremely limited. Furthermore, among the limited number of new members that have been secured, are renegades and people with axes to grind, and even special agents and spies who have not been tried by the fire of struggle. Consequently their true nature is not known and they have been admitted to the Party merely on superficial evidence.

In opening new work, because of a shortage of Party cadres, a number of cadres on the hsien level, making no distinction of Party, government, army, or people, themselves went directly among the people to learn of conditions, direct organization, and lead out in the struggle. Although this method of work got rapid results, it disordered the Party's system of organization, making it impossible to secure a deeply laid foundation upon which to build.

A great many of the Party cadres, having spent most of their time in the mountainous areas, have had little contact with the outside and, especially, have had no access to newspapers and magazines by which they might become familiar with political affairs. Hence they have no real foundation for the understanding of foreign or domestic political conditions. In particular, they are not sufficiently acquainted with the united-front policy. In their work, they easily lean too much to the left, or become very discouraged.

2. A Basic Policy for Rectifying the Party by Periods and Classifications

In places where organization is weak and work disorganized, whether members be many or few, member recruiting should be entirely stopped and a concentrated effort made to reorganize and strengthen the movement over a period of 3 months.

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In hsien where the Party organization seems to be solid but expansion has been uneven, rectification should be carried out in periods and by categories over a total period of 2 months.

In a hsien, rectification should be carried out in a number of ch'u; in a ch'u a number of cells should be rectified. During the period, all recruiting of Party members should be stopped and the whole effort devoted to rectification. However, with the permission of the hsien committee, expansion may be permitted among guerrillas or women, or very cautious expansion in especially designated ch'u and villages. The organization and members thus acquired should be placed on the unrectified list.

In ch'u or cells where membership is too small, expansion activities may be very cautiously carried on, at the same time carrying on rectification and solidifying operations.

In places where there is no Party organization at all, or where members are very few, there should continue to be very cautious but positive expansion of the organization. However, the ch'u committee or local committee must conduct a thorough investigation of the cadres in these areas and carefully screen the cells among these members and use this as a condition and basis for future expansion.

3. Specific Points to Be Scrutinized in Investigating Leadership and Committee Activities on All Levels

a. Their theoretical and practical grasp and disposition of Party policy questions and ability and viewpoint on the matter of a practical application of Party policies to current conditions in their areas.

b. Theoretical grasp of the principles of Party organization and whether they can base their disposition of Party matters on Party principles.

c. Their organizational and disciplinary ability in Party work and the ability to carry out responsibilities completely and the speed of accomplishment. Cadre policies, especially the promotion of cadres and their attitude toward cadres.

d. Their application of democratic centralization, and promotion of democratic activities.

e. Relations with higher and lower echelons and their leadership of governmental and people's Party organs and local armed movements.

f. Party relationships with the masses; relationships of Party cadres and non-Party cadres; the confidence of the masses in the party.

g. Do they have a fundamental grasp of the meaning and use of the united front?

4. Information To Be Gathered Concerning Individual Cadres by Leadership Organs on All Levels

The degree to which their thoughts are disciplined and the firmness of their political viewpoint.

Understanding of and ability to grasp Party policies

Grasp of the principles of organization.

Ability to organize work and enforce discipline.

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Relations with the masses.

Zeal for learning and self-criticism.

Class, origins, social relationships, and background.

Important strong points, weaknesses and leanings.

5. Methods of Securing Information on Individual Cadres

Forms filled out by the individual.

The individual's introduction and discussion of himself in meetings.

Information of the Party committee or cell meeting on the same level, reported to the higher levels.

Personal interviews of committee members of the same level and higher levels and collation of all material pertaining to the work and background of the cadre.

6. Preparation of Cadres After Completion of Investigation

All candidates whose qualifications are beyond question should be given a chance for Party leadership and important work.

As for those about whom there seems to be no question, but whose background is not clear, and whose present work makes it impossible definitely to determine whether they are wholly without question, they should be accepted and investigation continued.

Those whose political complexion and background are open to question, but which question cannot be verified, may only be used in work of low classification, which should, however, be suited to them as much as possible in order to give free play to their abilities and faithfulness.

After discussion and decision by a cell, approval by the ch'u committee, and a report to the hsien committee, opportunists, misfits, and laggards may be expelled from the Party.

Building up the Party

Much of the so-called accomplishment of expansion and establishment of the Party is far behind the demands of expansion indicated by the present aspect of the revolution.

In view of the present political needs, we should redouble our efforts. The basic facets of that aspect at present are the sweeping victory in the counterattack launched by the liberated areas and the approaching flood tide of democracy among all races of the country. The responsibility of the Party organization in South China is to prepare to welcome the troops of the victorious PLA, and to struggle for a speedy realization of the high tide of revolution. Because of all this, the Party's present responsibility in organization is to:

Reorganize our forces, stabilize our present front, and aggressively expand and reconstruct a still greater party.

Train and advance cadres; strengthen the cells, and make them pillars of the land-reform movement.

Initiate and strengthen underground movements in enemy territory, especially in enemy cities, among disaffected troops on important communications lines, in preparation to aid the southward moving armies.

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The work of strengthening the Party may be divided into two phases.

The first phase is the building up of cells. There must be a change to democratic selection of cells in areas where the reorganization has been completed. This change to democratic selection is inseparably tied in with the work of the investigation of cadres from top to bottom and will have great advantages in the stabilizing of the party. By this means the feeling of mass responsibility of the Party members may be heightened and their sense of urgency increased. Thus the whole mass of comrades in the Party may be mobilized to stabilize the Party and establish leadership organizations on all levels.

The second phase is the organization of chih-pu (支部). In principle, there shall be a chih-pu in each administrative village and cells in other villages. Where there is an unusually large number of members in villages, general chih-pu and sub chih-pu may be organized under a ch'u committee. The number of chih-pu under these committees may be from 15 to 25. Where a chih-pu has less than five persons, a chih-pu secretary (支書) may be appointed; where the number is less than 15, a branch committee may be organized. In sparsely settled territory where the number of members in a village or scattered area totals more than a cell, a chih-pu may be organized with a branch committee of three to seven and an alternate chih-pu secretary and alternate personnel in charge of chih-pu organization and propaganda. Ordinarily a sub chih-pu executive committee will not exceed three persons who can, when necessary, act as cell leaders. In stabilized areas, three to seven persons may constitute a cell; in guerrilla areas three persons are enough for a cell.

In order more easily to maintain the secrecy of Party organization, the calling of a chih-pu meeting may be permitted only for mountain territory or a central area where chih-pu have less than ten persons. In coastal areas, areas where the enemy may take over, or unsettled areas where the chih-pu members may be divided into cells (over five persons), a large chih-pu meeting should not be called. In official organization, special persons may be appointed to carry on chih-pu work to strengthen leadership. Where Party members are few in leadership organs on the same level (such as the party organs, political and people's governments on the ch'u level) but are continuously in the same vicinity, they may unite to form a chih-pu.

1. Division of Labor in a Chih-pu Committee

The chih-pu secretary pays attention to political conditions -- especially in the local ch'u and village, such as conditions of the enemy, class relationships, the united front, class struggle, etc. -- and political leadership, calls chih-pu committee meetings, and has custody of chih-pu documents.

The person in charge of organization studies investigation of members and presents his ideas in chih-pu committees. He also calls conferences of organization leaders, collects reports, collects membership dues, and carries responsibility for secret work, Party discipline, and inspection.

The person in charge of propaganda controls propaganda and education work, such as teaching cells party texts, etc. Each will have charge of a number of cells. Mass activities cells are controlled by the people's movements committee or chih-pu cadres.

2. Methods of Chih-pu Education

The present important methods of education for chih-pu Party members are that the ch'u committee should lead out in forming a close liaison with the chih-pu manner of life. In carrying on this work, ch'u committee members

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should personally visit the chih-pu and help them, at meetings, to study their responsibilities, and also policies and methods. At the same time, the committee members should give lectures according to plan on the Party texts, to make sure that the activities of the chih-pu and cells are practical ones. They should render periodic reports to the ch'u inner committee. The ch'u may at the same time give the chih-pu timely directives for transmission to individual members. This is the educational method that ties together activities, reports, and transmission of directives. It is the method that centralizes and maintains leadership. Hsien committees or ch'u committees may also open short-term training classes for Party members in open as opposed to secret activities, or send out special representatives to carry on circulating training classes. The training should be simple and practical, consisting principally of education in the views, policies, regulations, and classes of the Party.

To strengthen the leadership and education of the chih-pu, the memberships of the ch'u committee may be enlarged. The comparison between the ch'u and the chih-pu committee should be as five to one or six to one. In newly added areas, ch'u committee members are chosen for promotion from among the chih-pu, but being a ch'u committee member does not necessarily exempt a person from productive activities. They exercise leadership in a number of nearby chih-pu or set up a central chih-pu whose secretary may be a member ex officio of the ch'u committee.

3. Cadre Problems

When the Tung-chiang column moved north, most of the experienced cadres went with it, leaving a very small number of comrades to carry on the work in the old territory. However, these cadres have continued to carry on the bitter struggle in the midst of the most difficult underground conditions. During these 2 years, a number of new cadres have been added and have been united with the older cadres in the struggle and have built up and stabilized the Party, political, military, and people's organizations, holding firm and pushing organization forward. The Party has struck roots among the masses of the people. Had there not been these cadres, this progress could certainly not have been made.

However, development and promotion of the chih-pu has not kept pace with the expansion of the struggle. Our cadres at present are insufficient to cope with the work which we face. Hence, it is requested that all members on all levels immediately train cadres in chih-pu and all revolutionary organizations in all kinds of activities and struggles. Training of cadres and raising of their qualifications should be a standard of judgment on the quality of Party work everywhere.

In training cadres, it is important to give them definite tasks and responsibilities, thus encouraging them to bold action. Also, the cadres should be given timely assistance when needed. When a directive is given, counsel should be given as to timely and practical methods of carrying out the directive, and then in the course of carrying out the responsibility, careful checks should be made. With completion of the task, the cadre should be assisted in summarizing his experience.

Another secondary training method is to carry on a variety of training classes, especially for village and ch'u cadres.

There are two basic types of training classes. First there is the peripatetic type of training class where the hsien cadres aid the ch'u cadres in training the village cadres or where the local committeemen join the hsien representatives in training ch'u cadres. A number of local ch'u cadres are assembled and plans set forth and questions answered dealing with work of present importance. Talks are given on methods and policies and discussion provoked. The period of duration of these classes is from one to two weeks.

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Secondly there are set periods of instruction or cadre schools in which, except for specialized training (such as training in Party affairs or technical training), emphasis should be laid on policy and education in basic activities.

Also, simple tests may be given to stabilize thinking. These schools should be conducted for from 3 to 6 months as may be decided in each place.

There should be division of labor among the leaders in the training of cadres. Hsien committeemen may train village cadres, local committeemen may train ch'u cadres, and branch bureau and ch'u Party committeemen may train hsien cadres.

In the promotion and training of cadres, special attention should be given to Party policy with respect to intelligentsia. They should be given exceptional opportunities for learning and work, so that in study and work they may be reformed. When the results are good, they should be encouraged. When their Party consciousness has been raised to the proper level, they may join the Party.

In conclusion, two questions relating to expansion and stabilization of the Party should be discussed.

In each hsien and ch'u committee there should be one or two executive secretaries who are responsible for membership growth, investigation, and education.

Party committees on all levels may select one or two trustworthy member cadres to go openly among the masses to proclaim Party purposes and policies to increase Party influence and to prepare receptive persons for Party membership.

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